<u>INFORM A TION</u> ON THE SITUATION OF THE UKRAINIAN MINORITY IN POLAND (October 1957)

25 oct

- Sources: 1. Observations by our reporter Mr. K. who was in Poland from the beginning of September to the middle of October
 - 2. Material from correspondence;
 - 3. Material from the Ukrainian and Polish press in Poland.

A. General Introduction

Mr. K. spent 6 weeks in Poland and during that time visited Cracow and Warsaw. He had many confersations of official and unofficial character with active Ukrainians, university professors, students and others as well as with many Poles. Visiting Poland for the second time (the first time he was there in summer 1956), he had there many friends with whom he kept contact by mail and by exchange with various scientific and political publications.

On the basis of gathered information and personal observations the situation of the Ukrainian minority in Poland is as follows:

B. Number of Ukrainians in Poland

According to official Polish statements, 63 000 Ukrainian families were deported from the Ukrainian ethbographic territory (San region, Kholm region, Pidlasha and Lemkivshchyna) in 1947. Assuming a number of 5 persons to one family as an average the total number of 315 000 will be obtained. These people were resettled on the so called Regained Land, former German territory along the Oder-Nissa line, Pomerania and East Prussia. (For more detailed information on present Ukrainian settlements in Poland see our previous memo: Situation of Ukrainians in Poland(I). About 20 000 Ukrainians were living in central Poland before WW II and they stayed there; ca.20 000 Ukrainians-Roman-Catholics so called "kalakuty" live in Pidlasha. Together 355 000. This number will increase by adding ca. 30 000 Ukrainians who escaped deportation and live along the San-river and in Lemkivshchyna. Few thousands of Ukrainians still conceal their Ukrainian nationality mend with the Polish repatriation from USSR in recent months a considerable number of Ukrainians number still not assessed) arrived in Poland. Thus a conservative calculation will show the number of Ukrainians in Poland 'at 400-410 thousand. The majority of them ca. 220 thousand are Greek-Catholics and the rest are Orthodox.

G. Ukrainian Social-Cultural Association (USKT)

Information on this one and only Ukrainian legal association subsidized by the Polish Government, was given in two previous reviews. K. provides the following additional information:

Uninvited Ukrainians also arrived to the USKT G. Meeting and on the second day were permitted to speek. Their strong position actually turned the meeting into one accusation of Poland for organized and tolerated discrimination of Ukrainians. Soviet ambassador to Poland Ponomarenko phesent at the meeting allegedly said to the Polish minister Tarosinski in a private conversation: "No i Kroyut" to which Yarosinski replied "and what the USSR? Is it possible there for such an open talk?"

USKT is subordinated to the Polish Ministry of Culture and its budget is 600 thousand zloty a year. This is less than is obtained by much smaller minority groups, (e.g. the Jewish of 50,000 people receives 1 million zloty and the same amount is received by the Association of Soviet-Polish Friendship), and from it USKT maintains 12 employees for the whole territory of Poland. The weekly Nashe Slovo is financed by the Ministry of Interior, Department of Propaganda, headed by vice-minister Sznek a Communist and UB member.

Shnek is unfavorably disposed toward Ukrainians and was active in the purge of the paper's editorial staff early this year. Requests to remove Shchyrba and Hoshovsky from the paper were declined by Snnek with threats that "the removal of people who have confidence of the party" and replacing them with Ukrainian nationalists would put a question mark ofer the paper itself. So editor lapsky was removed from the paper and other editors were curtailed in their influence in the paper. Shchyrba and Hoshovski remained the only masters.

Pressure was put upon chairman Stepan Makukh, elected at the G.Meeting. He was denounced and was forced to retire. He was replaced by careerist Hryhoriy Boyarsky, member of the Polish Workers Party. General Secretary of USKT became Olha Vasylkiv, a party member but conscious Ukrainian with great popularity among Ukrainians for her efforts on behalf of the Ukrainian school system.

After the purge Shchyrba and Hoshovski employed in the paper a direct Bolshevik propaganda line by printing articles from the Mikhaylov paper "Za Povorot na Batkivshchynu. Also Besaha's "statement" and Horbova's letter was printed. Shchyrba, under initials T.Sh. started a series of articles denouncing UPA. After this happened the paper received hundreds of letters a day with protests and requests to publish factual material about the Bolshevik liquidation of Skrypnyk, Shumsky and Krushelnytsky in USSR. Besides the paper was flooded with requests to discontinue subscriptions. In few weeks the circulation of the paper dropped from 30.000 to 12.000 and the paper stook before a complete boycott by the Ukrainian population. Under this pressure the editors gave in. They discontinued reprints from Mikhylov's. Shcyrba did not finish his

"historical" treatise on UPA, the paper became "neutral" which means that national patriotic feelings of Ukrainians are not challenged and direct direct Bolshevik propaganda is not being promoted. (Situation as of October 1957).

While the main Board of the USKT in Warsaw is infiltrated here or less by Moscow's agents (Shchyrba) or by members of the Polish Communist Party or Security (Hoshovsky), branches of USKT on regional level (Voyevodstvo) are not yet infiltrated and real Ukrainian patriots initiate and carry the burden of work for the good of Ukrainians, for preventing denationalization and providing for educational and cultural development of the Ukrainian minority.

K. reports that **Bol**ish chauvinism toward the Ukrainians in **Pol**and is immense. Even at the present time the sole usage of Ukrainian language in the street might provoke assaults and evenbodily harm. While "on top" in ministries in Warsaw there are some tendencies and there and antidiscriminatory declarations in the name of socialist, proletarian internationalism, "on bottom" of the administrative apparatus and among the Polish population reigns untained chauvinism. Silently tolerated and not counteracted by anybody of because even the Polish Catholic Church is not entirely free from chauvinism and anti-Ukrainian teends) this Polish chauvinism results in an arbitrary movement of selfpreservation among the Ukrainians and its practical manifestation is the demand to return to their old places of residence.

D. Economic Situation of Ukrainians in Poland

Direct result of Polish chauvinism is the miserable situation of the Ukrainian minority in Poland. It is the worst of all national minorities. The reasons for it are: 1. Ukrainians were deported from their homesteds and were allowed to take only scarce belongings they could gather in a short time and carry in their hands. 2. After resettlement on the so called Regained Land Ukrainians were distributed the worst homes with ruined buildings, because the better ones were given to the Poles.

For these reasons the majority of Ukrainians in Regained Lands try to get permission for repatriation to their old homes and only a small number of Lemki managed to settle down. The main trend is toward repatriation to old Ukrainian territories in Poland. This trend is called forth by economic conditions and by a greater degree by the chauvinism of the local Polish administration recruted mainly from Poles from Galicia and Volynia. According to the authorized statement by minister Tkachov the returned of Ukrainians to their old homes is possible only when the local administration issues a statement that their house and farm are free. In practice, however, the local authorities refuse to issue such statements and the only solution for Ukrainians is bribery. \$ 000 zloty is the price at the present time.

Under such circumstances and to improve their economic situation Ukrainians in Poland attempt to organize production co-operatives following the example of Ukrainian co-operatives in Galicia in the years before 1939. The following enterprises are being considered: 1. a saw-mill and factory of building material somewhere in Lemkivshchyna 2. a factory to produce coal acid needed for carbonate water manufacturing somewhere in Western Lemkivshchyna or in the vicinity of Krajow. A group of engineers are working on plans. They want to get the mashinery from abroad; 3. a factory of dry goods in Cracow; 4. enterprises to manufacture sweaters, embroideries, rugs et cet. in Peremyshl and Pidlasha areas.

E. Requirements of the Ukrainians in Poland

EE/P: TyI In conversations with K. Ukrainians in Poland expressed and submitted a number of requests to be delivered to those concerned in the West. At the same time they did not conceal their disappointment in the fact that during the last year they did not receive any concrete support and even replies to their letters directed to various Ukrainian institutions. In one instance K. was handed a copy of an appeal by Ukrainians from voyevodstvo Zielona Gora to the Ukrainian -CAnadian organization UNO to which they received no reply.

The requests of Ukrainians in Poland are directed to: 1. the Ukrainian emigration; 2. the Government of the United States; 3. the Vatican and the Ukrainian hierarchy.

L. Requests to the Ukrainian Emigration

The Ukrainians in Poland ask the Ukrainian emigration for:

a/moral and political support, by which they understand increased interest in the fate of Ukrainians in Poland. They call for appropriate action in the Ukrainian and foreign press and for appropriate intervention to the US Government and the Vatican. They look forward for articles in respectable emigred press which (articles) would testify that the fate of Ukrainians in Poland is of much concern to the Ukrainian emigration, that Ukrainians in the West follow the events and the situation of Ukrainians in Poland and condemn Polish chauvinism. Their desire is to been come into the focus of public opinion with which Warsaw is to count being very sensitive to it at the present time.

They expect from the Ukrainian emigration interventions before the US Government and on behalf of the Ukrainian minority in Poland in the direction of cessation of discrimination against Ukrainian population and in direction of obtaining permission to return to their homes and property of which they have been deprived.

b / support in development of Ukrainian school system and cultural life in Poland by sending textbooks and school material to

Ukrainian schools in Poland; by sending papers and books to various addresses of Ukrainians in Poland; by support in form of subscriptions and funds to the literary and artistic magazine "Homin" now in preparation by Ukrainian students in Cracow; by patronage over Ukrainian schools (grade and high-schools) by Ukrainian centers in USA and Canada; by grants and fellowships for young Ukrainian scientists to do research in libraries in Cracow, Warsaw and Poznan in Ukrainian subjects. These young scientists could be at the same time co-editors of the magazine "Homin"; by providing funds to buy a bus with capacity of 20-30 seats for a traveling theater which would make tours to all Ukrainian settlements in Poland; by support for publication of literature for childrenin form of donations.

c/ economic-financial support to various groups of the Ukrainian population and on individual basis. This should include Ukrainian priests both Catholic and Orthodox, and Ukrainian students. Grants, and parcels to the Liceum in Bartoshyce (50 boys and 50 girls), to Liceum in Zlotoryja (10 boys and 12 girls), Peremyshl (20 boys and 10 girls). There are 20 Ukrainian students studying Ukrainian at the Warsaw University, 45 at the Pedagogical Institute at Szczecin. Clothing and foot wear parcels for the poorest Ukrainian families, as well as money through the PKO (exchange 97 zloty for \$1).

DMC thread for embroidery shops being organized at the present time. Machinery to manufacture sweaters and rugs (see paragraph on economic situation), this in line with the USA support to Poland.

2. Requests to the US Government

In connection with financial supported being negotiated (and partially carried out) between the US Government and Poland the Ukrainians in Poland submit a request to the Government of the US to make a provision in the agreement by which financial aid to Poland would depend upon:

a/ equal and just treatment of all national minorities including the Ukrainian and immediate cessation of national discrimination;

b/ permission to return to their homes of those Ukrainians who have been illegaly deported from their land and deprived of their private property;

The Ukrainians in Poland further ask the Government of the United States for charitable aid by such American institutions as >> NCWC and Church World Service. This request is based upon the fact that the Ukrainians are the most persecuted (nationally and economically) group in Poland.

The Ukrainians in Poland expect the US Government to take proper steps in this direction in negotiations with the Polish delegation in Washington.

3. Requests to the Vatican

Because of the fact that the Polish Catholic Church and particularly some individual hierarchs tolerate the harmful treatment of Ukrainian Catholics which is contrary to the spirit of the Catholic Church, Ukrainian Catholics in Poland await some appropriate steps by the Holy Father who could influence cardinal Wyszynski especially in following matters:

a/ to return to Ukrainian Greek-Catholics in Poland their churches in Peremyshl, Cracow and other localities, of which

they have been deprived by illigal means;

b/ to provide instruction of religion for Ukrainian students by Ukrainian priests as is being done by Polish priests for Polish students;

c/ to create an Apostolic Administration for Ukrainian Greek-Catholics in Poland;

From the Ukrainian Hierarchy in the emigration the Ukrainians in Poland expect moral and material support for both the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. They ask for prayer books, books of divine services and religious literature. They expect also intervention in the Vatican on behalf of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in Poland.

F. Additional Information

During his stay in Poland K. was particularly interested in possibilities the Ukrainian in Poland have to dissiminate our political work to the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR. In this respect he made the following observation:

1. Of great importance are travels made by Ukrainians in Poland to the Ukrainian SSR. On one hand they are there a source of information for Ukrainians about the West and particularly about Ukrainian emigration and its activity, on the other hand they make the regime to relax the ties by criticizing openly the Russification policy in the Ukrainian SSR (see the chapter Situation of Ukrainians in the Ukrainian SSR and USSR). To make it possible for them to carry out their great task, the present favorable conditions should be utilized quickly and literature on Ukrainian problem in the West should be shipped to Poland in considerable amount. At the present time more and more Ukrainian writers and scientists arrive in Poland with the purpose to find Ukrainian sources, books and publications published in the West. Thus every good book sent to a Polish university, library or to a private address sooner or later finds its way to the hands of a reader of the Ukrainian SSR.

- 2. K. was able already to dispatch through his friends in Poland two copies of <u>Encyclopedia of Ukraine</u> to the Ukrainian SSR. Three additional copies he left behind in Poland 2 in Warsaw and 1 in Cracow. K. prepared a list of books to be sent immediately to given addresses in Poland. This list is included in an over all list which we submitteeparately. For further shipping of books K. arranged for people and ways of doing it, and now the only thing required is to sent books to Poland.
- 3. K. Made a valuable observation that the Warsaw Mashe Slovo is in demand in the Ukrainian SSR and in the USSR including Kazakstan. Because Ukrainians living in these areas are not able to subscribe to this paper, Ukrainians in Poland do it for them. Even with its present tendency and content Mashe Slovo is a sui generis revolution in the Ukrainian SSR and must be made possible financially for the Ukrainians in Poland to extend the subscription. At the same time there is a great demand in the Ukrainian SSR among the students and literary circles for polish papers and magazines such as Zycie Literackie, Przeglad Powszechnny and Po Prostu before the latter was suppressed). K. prepared a list of addresses to which monies for subscriptions should be sent.
- 4. During his stay in Poland K. left to his contact a camera price at \$ 70.00. He also left to people involved in the planned book action \$ 80.00 for future expenditure. In the future our offices in agreement with K. and utilizing other possibilities in the West will sent some little financial support to people who will be helpful in our planned activity.
- 5. In one conversation with students in Cracow one of them admitted receiving our <u>Information Bulletin</u>. Because of circumstances K. was unable to explore more on the subject and was satisfied with this informantion that people receive the Bulletin.
- 6. K. had conversations with many active Ukrainians and priests who asked him to submit their requests (enumerated above) to the Ukrainain emigration to the Government of the US and to the Vaticam. They expressed a complete confidence in him, but indicated that to some extent further cooperation in different fields will depend upon realization of their requests. Therefore a quick action toward carrying out our planned project is of outmost importance.